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Gerald W. Johnson on Bricker

New Republic

ECONOMIC POLICY
Leon Keyserling

DEFENSE
Roswell Gilpatric

AGRICULTURE
Clyde Mitchell

SOCIAL SECURITY
Sen. John F. Kennedy

HEALTH
Dr. Michael M. Davis

NATURAL RESOURCES
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The Eisenhower Program for America

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Our advice to young people: Don't take a government job. Too risky. It's not merely the poor pay and derision—the GOP fought the 1952 election sneering at "bureaucrats"—but now reputation and loyalty itself may be challenged. A mood is growing up, stimulated by Administration acts, where federal workers are automatically suspect and where some fear to quit lest it be hinted they are "security risks."

Dignity and confidence are endangered at the State Department where bully-boy Scott McLeod, who has the combined job of personnel officer and security policeman, runs the show. A group of distinguished, retired diplomats in a letter to the *New York Times* have just warned of ebbing morale. Only 100 percent Bricker-type Republicans need apply there.

If you're a scientist the risks are greater. Papers are full of the 21 renegade soldiers who rejected America at Panmunjom, but they carry hardly a word of the 19 suspended scientists at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, who are desperately trying to act like good Americans in the wake of the McCarthy investigative tornado. If it were a real tornado the Red Cross would help their stricken families, but since they are just government workers their homes are shunned. Are they guilty? Some don't know the charges. All but three have families. They are in debt, living on savings or borrowings. A new term of suspicion is born; whisper it, "government worker."

Eisenhower is a compassionate man. His instincts are good. He says the right things. The accused, he feels, should "confront his accuser"; he's against "book burning"; he feels the nation can't survive with people fearing each other. The trouble with Ike is he lives on an island. He had a chance to denounce amateur vigilantism last week when a reporter asked what he thought of the witch-hunt of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Norwalk, Connecticut. Doughty little Truman would have torn into this at the drop of a hat, but then we all know Truman; he came up through the Pendergast machine. Ike had never heard of it (it was in the morning paper, but Ike doesn't read the morning paper). Again, Ike once more declined to give a breakdown of the precious list of "2,200 security risks" fired by the government, most of whom are believed to be drunks or misfits. The McCarthyites call them all "Communists." Ike said, with some warmth, that nobody in his Administration had ever inferred they were all Red. (Both White House Counsel Bernard Shanley and Postmaster-General Summerfield, in separate, demagogic, speeches lumped them all together, one as "subversive," the other as "treasonable." But then, they don't tell Ike these things.)

Ike ponders new safeguards for the government: legalization of wire-tapping, limitations on the Fifth Amendment, de-nationalization of American-born Communists; maybe government workers need new loyalty oaths. No, young people: If you value security, want peace of mind, are idealistic, above all if you crave personal dignity—be wary of Washington; keep away from a federal job.

We've scouted Washington for word on the economic situation. Will there be a recession? Our careful conclusions: it's too soon to say. Ike has a top-notch economist in Dr. Arthur Burns, who's in a tough spot. Is mounting unemployment merely seasonal? The Administration gambles that it is, and is continuing deflationary budget-cutting. This seems rash to many. The only ones who have panicked so far are GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall and friends who are demanding ostrich-optimism as proof of patriotism: the surest way of scaring the daylights out of people we know. The new phrase is "inventory contraction." One candid official said simply, but privately, "We've got our fingers crossed." What should be realized is the staggering responsibility the Administration is placing on business. This is a business administration; its basic philosophy is that business won't let it and America down. Proposed tax cuts are designed primarily to stimulate business. We very much doubt whether US business appreciates how its prestige is now involved, or the spot it's in. We do hope business answers the whistle; a US recession would pull the props out from under half the world.

For some reason we can't stop worrying over the Administration's "new look" in defense. America now threatens an aggressor, anywhere, with retaliatory A-bombs, and simultaneously slashes its military budget $5 billion. Judging by the astonishing silence in the press this new military concept gives general satisfaction. Able young Sen. Albert Gore and newspapermen Walter Millis and Hanson Baldwin question it, but few others do. The nation's real worry is over the price of coffee.

Twenty-five liberal Senators voted against confirmation of McCarthy's stooge Robert E. Lee for the Federal Communications Commission. Although Lee won, the vote in the Senate was the best score against a bad Eisenhower appointee yet. Meanwhile Ike has named Albert Beeson, $30,000-a-year industrial-relations director of the vaguely anti-labor Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation of California, to the five-man National Labor Relations Board. Beeson says the NLRB hasn't been fair to management. The Board is now divided, two to two, and Beeson's key note can rewrite the Taft-Hartley Act, if he is confirmed, faster than any new laws passed by Congress. Beeson denies telling the *San Jose* (California) *Mercury* that he would serve only one year and then return to his company job. The paper repeats the charge. This is the first time an NLRB member has been picked directly either from organized labor or from management; it repeats Ike's mistake, in reverse, in going directly to an interested trade union in selecting Martin Durkin for his first Secretary of Labor.

Notes: It's about time for another big Red scare to bolster the Administration; Senator Jenner is readying one up. . . . The District Court slapped down Attorney General Brownell in his political suit against former Democratic Assistant Attorney General Bergson; wouldn't even let it go to a jury.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Please Wait and Be Good

BETWEEN June and January available jobs in this country decreased by nearly 3.4 million. 2,360,000 people are unemployed and looking for work—an increase of nearly one million in two months—another one million plus have stopped looking and still another 270,000 are "temporarily laid off." So the unemployment ratio has reached 4.2 percent of a labor force which, instead of expanding at the normal annual rate of some 700,000 a year—necessary to maintain full production and our present living standard—is contracting. Read in this light, that part of the President's Economic Report which deals with minimum wages and unemployment compensation seems particularly ill-conceived.

Last November, Secretary of Labor James Mitchell told a CIO convention that he was shocked to find that the present minimum wage law covers only one-third of American workers and he promised to bring that minimum up to a more realistic level. But the President proposed no changes either in the present 75-cent an hour federal wage floor or in the present coverage of about 24 million workers. And he gave only extremely qualified support to the whole idea of a mandatory minimum wage.

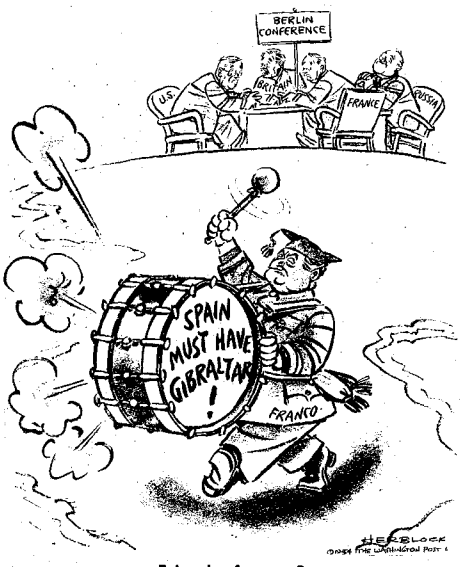
Whereas economic uncertainty would seem to require a revision of wage minimums upward to increase the quantity of dollars in the hands of consumers who most need them, President Eisenhower cited it as reason for delay. And he presented as further reasons all the clichés—fear of unemployment, of price increases and of discrimination against small business—used by opponents of minimum wage since its inception, although these have been amply discredited by experience with the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Sen. John F. Kennedy (D, Mass.) immediately retorted that since average hourly earnings exceed $1.75 an increase of the minimum wage to $1 could easily be absorbed by most covered employers. "A minimum wage based upon increases in cost of living and worker productivity since establishment of the 1938 or 1949 minimums," said Senator Kennedy, "would be in excess of $1 an hour. . . . The continued existence in this country of substandard wages and depressed living standards threatens to undercut the wage levels of all workers. . . . "

On the question of unemployment compensation the President made excellent recommendations for extending coverage to federal, state and small business employees. Yet, on the key points of amount and duration of benefits, Eisenhower seemed badly confused.

He noted that the size of weekly benefits varies considerably from state to state—with the maximum ranging from $20 to $30—while only one-half of them provide payments for as long as 26 weeks. Such a situation, he said in effect, is very bad; then he requested the states themselves to change it.

States giving low, short-duration compensation benefits enjoy a considerable advantage over their more enlightened neighbors. Why should they voluntarily abandon practices which, by keeping taxes on employers low, permit them to attract industry from other states? It is difficult to imagine how anything short of a federal law establishing a minimum amount and duration of benefits will eliminate the discriminatory aspects of the present unemployment compensation system. Yet rather than propose such a law the President invited the deficient states to reform.



Friend of yours?

Repeat

THE BIG-BUSINESS policy which proved disastrous in the 1930s—meeting lower consumption with decreased production and employment instead of lower prices—is being repeated, according to a survey by the Public Affairs Institute.

From 1929 to 1932 the auto industry cut its prices 12 percent, but it cut production 74 percent and man-hours of employment 64 percent. The iron and steel industry cut prices 16 percent, production 76 and employment 71. Agricultural-implement industry: prices 14, production 84 and employment 84 percent.

Between June and December of last year, the steel industry reduced its operating rate by almost one-fifth—from 97 to 80 percent of capacity—to keep its prices at a level some 9 percent higher than the year before.

Data released by the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities Exchange Commission show that during the fiscal year which ended June, 1953, manufacturing corporations with assets of $100 million or more increased their profit margins per dollar of sales by more than 11 percent. During the same period rate of return on investment rose from 22 to 26.4 percent—manufacturing corporations with less than $25 million in assets, however, showed no appreciable gain.

And while unemployment increased, the annual rate of profit on stockholder equity in the steel industry rose from 7.5 percent in the second quarter of 1952 to 32.6 percent in the second quarter of 1953—an increase of 400 percent in one year.

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For Our Protection

THE NATIONAL commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars has indorsed the plans of its Norwalk, Conn., post to send a continuing list of names of "Communistically" inclined citizens of the town to the FBI. "I dare say that many of our 10,000 posts have been doing so," said Commander Wayne E. Richards.

This smugness was not shared in Norwalk, however, when it developed that the list had been drawn up secretly by the post commander, Albert Beres, service station owner, and a few cohorts, with the approval of the state commander. The senior vice-commander of the post expressed dismay—"I didn't know a thing about this business." Both Mayor Irving C. Freese of Norwalk and Mayor Richard C. Lee of New Haven denounced the action.

The "vigilantes" tried to justify their activities by pointing to a succession of directives, initiated in wartime by Franklin D. Roosevelt, which ordered the FBI to assume the task of assuring the nation against espionage and sabotage and asked private citizens and organizations to report suspicious persons and activities to the Bureau. The purpose of the directives was to prevent irresponsible denunciations and vigilante activity by channeling complaints into the responsible federal agency.

When questioned on the matter, President Eisenhower indicated that the only protection against such activity are the libel and slander laws. But Chairman Harold W. Velde (R, Ill.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee has invited the VFW to send the names to him as well as to the FBI. And if the names are published by a Congressional committee, persons accused will have lost whatever protection libel and slander laws may afford them.

Galloping Deficit

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER based his forecast of a slightly less than $3 billion deficit next year on the assumption that last year's high level of business activity would continue and that Congress would obey his will by not voting any further loss of revenue. He seems to have been wrong on both counts.

Speaker of the House Joe Martin is supporting a proposal by Rep. Richard M. Simpson to lower all excise taxes except those on liquor and tobacco to 10 percent. Simpson is Chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee—his job is to make Republicans popular with contributors and voters and thus elect them to the House. Speaker Joe Martin, also concerned with giving Republican candidates something "to show the folks" in 1954, apparently feels that by agreeing to the Simpson proposal, which will cut revenue by some $1 billion, the Administration stands a better chance of avoiding the scheduled April 1 tax cuts involving $3 billion.

And it seems likely that Martin prevailed upon the White House to accept this compromise. But with the door to tax revision open in an election year, it is more than possible that the tax cuts will bite deeper than expected. With Chairman Daniel Reed (R, N.Y.) and other key members of the House Ways and Means Committee on record as favoring heavy excise cuts this season, the President may have to add $2 billion to his deficit from this source instead of the $1 billion he may believe he has compromised for.

The deficit will also be swollen by a loss of Treasury revenue resulting from the current decline in business activity which even the most conservative economists estimate will reach five percent for 1954. A five-percent decline would mean another revenue loss of $3 billion; add $2 billion which will very probably be the cost of Republican campaign insurance in an election year, and the deficit which Eisenhower may have to admit to will be closer to $8 billion.

"Changes"

NOW CONFIRMED to a seven-year term as Federal Communications Commissioner, McCarthy's friend, Robert E. Lee has found a new freedom of expression:

"I don't believe in government regulation," said he, prophesying that the Republican majority achieved by his appointment would mean a "changed" policy for FCC. And on the question of reserving television channels for educational purposes he had this to say: "I'm for it. . . . since you can't be against mother love." But he said he could not understand why educational programs should not be sponsored like regular entertainment.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

JOHN JAY, discussing the treaty-making power of the President in the *Federalist,* No. 64, wrote: "As to corruption, the case is not supposable. He must either have been very fortunate in his intercourse with the world, or possess a heart very susceptible of such impressions, who can think it probable that the President and two-thirds of the Senate will ever be capable of such unworthy conduct. The idea is too gross and too invidious to be entertained. But in such a case, if it should ever happen, the treaty so obtained from us would, like all other fraudulent contracts, be null and void under the law of nations."

It is evident that our capacity for supposition has made great strides since John Jay's time. The Bricker Amendment drive attests that today we are capable of supposing the idea with no trouble at all. There would have been no case whatever for that amendment had we started with the assumption that the President and two-thirds of the Senate are incapable of selling Ohio to the anthropophagi. True, in public debate orators usually based the supposition on the stupidity, rather than the corruption, of the President and two-thirds of the Senate; but stupidity of such proportions is an enormity exceeding corruption.

To the superficial observer this is a staggering revelation. We outsiders had become accustomed to hearing Mr. Bricker's friends describe Harry S. Truman as a monster of most frightful mien, but we had assumed it was because he was a Democrat. Now it appears that our assumption was an error; what made Truman monstrous was not his democracy, but his Presidency. Dwight D. Eisenhower is no Democrat, yet it was against him that the Bricker Amendment was aimed. He is no Democrat, but he is President, and any President should be regarded as monstrous by definition.

This is unhappy news to the upright who voted Republican last year because they disapproved the low ethical tone that seemed to pervade Washington. It had come to the place where a stenographer could acquire a mink coat, not, indeed, by actual crime but through transactions that were certainly stupid and morally questionable. Many of the upright decided that such conditions were not to be tolerated, so they voted for opposition.

But now it appears that in the opinion of most of the Republican Senators it is no longer stenographers, but the President and two-thirds of the Senate that must be restrained from acts derogatory to the dignity and safety of the United States. Far from being eliminated, "the mess in Washington" has risen in a tide that floods the White House and the Senate wing of the Capitol.

This must leave the upright feeling a little foolish. To have risen in wrath against the stupid acts of stupid underlings in the Truman Administration was no doubt creditable; but it is hardly creditable to have replaced that Administration with an outfit that regards its leader as no more to be trusted than the Democratic small fry who negotiated the mink coat deal.

In the course of time, perhaps, it may occur to some genius in the Republican leadership that the trait called self-respect has a certain value in politics. He may even come to the point at which he will understand Jay's assertion that there are ideas "too gross and too invidious to be entertained" one of which is the idea that the American people will some day elect a President and a Senate so stupid or so corrupt that together they will lose or sell the independence of this country. This idea is too gross and too invidious because it postulates complete lack of respect for the American people and for the party that this stupid people may return to power.

Such a genius might do wonders for the Republican Party. In fact, he might eventually elevate its ethical tone to the level of that of the Truman Administration, in which dimwits and dubious morals were confined to the lower official levels. After the affair of the Bricker Amendment it will take heroic labor to achieve so much, but it is possible.

For the upright are still upright, and not many of them have accepted the implications of this attack on the President. They still believe that he is neither feeble-minded nor corrupt and that the attempt to give him a guardian reflects, not on his mentality, but on that of the proponents of the idea.

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EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM FOR AMERICA

☆

After one year in office, the President has presented to Congress seven messages on major national policies. These constitute the Eisenhower program on which the Administration's future is staked. The soundness of this program and its chances of enactment are analyzed in the pages that follow.

Leon Keyserling:

IN THE LAST message that Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote but did not deliver to the American people, he told Americans that, "We must move forward with firm and active faith." He realized that, thinking in terms either of the welfare of the people or in terms of political (*i.e.* public) responsibility, we must devise new programs to meet new times.

In reading the January, 1954, Economic Report of the President, let us set it in the context not of the contrast between what those responsible for it are now proposing and what the New Deal or the Fair Deal stood for or fought for five years ago, 10 years ago or 15 years ago, but rather in the context of what we can do now, in fact what we must do to realize the possibilities America now has.

First, the Report finds that in the year 1954 a large depression is unlikely in the United States. I agree with that finding. But what philosophy issues from the Report on the basis of its finding that a serious decline in 1954 is unlikely? The philosophy in the main is: since there is not going to be any serious economic depression in the US this year, the American Government really has no urgent and pressing need to apply more aggressive policies and programs now. We can wait and see whether the situation is going to get worse before it gets better.

But the basic responsibility facing the United States now does not hinge upon whether we are going to have a *serious depression.* Instead, it is whether we have enough intelligence and vigor with all of our resources to prevent the people who are being hurt now by an economic decline, even without a serious depression, from continuing to be hurt. It is no answer whatsoever to two or three million breadwinners and their families, to say, "Forget about it; because you're only a small number and not a large number." And there is the further point that it is wiser and easier to stop and reverse a little economic decline than a bigger one.

And it is no answer to the nearly 25 percent of American families who have incomes of less than $2,000 a year according to available measurement, or the nearly 60 percent with incomes of less than $4,000—which under current conditions is not an American standard of living in accord with what we can provide—it is no answer to say to them that their problems don't count because the country as a whole is prosperous.

It is no answer in view of the effect upon the whole free world of even a small economic downturn in this country. Such a downturn is always accompanied by a decline in our imports. A drop in these purchases abroad deprives free nations of the dollars with which to buy goods they need from us. All of our purposes of freedom and progress and security in the free world are affected even by a small economic downturn in the United States.

This, however, is only the negative side of it. Measured in terms of our potential in resources, our skill, our machinery, our manpower, our brain power and our capacity for growth, we have the possibilities within the next few years in the United States, barring a total war, to achieve what would have been believed absolutely fantastic and impossible just a few years ago.

This article is an abbreviation of a tape recording of an extemporaneous Roosevelt Day Dinner talk made in Pittsburgh on January 28, 1954. Mr. Keyserling, now a consulting economist and attorney, was Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers from 1950 to 1953, and Vice-Chairman from 1946 to 1950.

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Let us consider in more specific terms what we can achieve within the next few years easily within our strength; and then set against that let us consider the programs which are being proposed by the current Economic Report.

We have read about the General Motors Corporation getting ready to invest $1 to $2 billion in the improvement of productive facilities. Nobody could quarrel with that. It is good. But what this means very simply is that all over the US in many of our industries there is going forward a rate of technical change, a rate of increasing ability to produce for every man hour that is worked, perhaps at an even faster rate than that which during the years since 1946 has enabled us to build up our economy more than we have built it up at any peacetime years in the past. When one adds to that development the fact that our population is growing larger each year, and that there are or should be more people in the labor force each year, one gets a very simple equation which may be stated like this: people + tools = progress or depression. In other words, unless we have the brains to learn how to use the improved tools, plus the increased number of people able and willing to work, the alternative is that the tools won't be used and the people won't be used, and gradually if not quickly we will move much further downhill rather than moving up.

In fact, what has really happened in the United States in the last half year is that we have not brought the standard of living, the level of demand, the distribution of goods and services, up to the rate of our productive power. And we have not built into the structure of our economy in these last few months the programs, either private or public, which enable us to dispose of the goods that we have the capacity to produce.

THE FIRST evidence of that was in the farm area. Farmers in 1953 had an income considerably lower than in 1952. That had an effect upon them, and it also had an effect upon the automobile industry, upon the farm implement industry, and upon everyone from whom farmers buy. All this is sometimes attributed to farm surpluses. But the farm problem in the United States in general is a problem of surpluses only in the old sense that any productive economy has "surpluses," and thus the beginning of depressions, when it does not bring up its standard of living so as to match production with the satisfaction of the needs of the people.

Milk is one good example. In 1952, we consumed in this country about 108 billion pounds of milk and milk products, including milk, fluid milk, cream, ice cream, butter, etc. We produced about 115 billion pounds in 1952. In 1953, the government bought up 9.5 billion pounds at a cost of half a billion dollars, and there is much talk about the "surplus." But if we brought a decency standard of living to every deserving American family—a diet meeting adequate standards of nutrition—we would need within a few years, say by 1960, at least 150 billion pounds of milk and milk products.

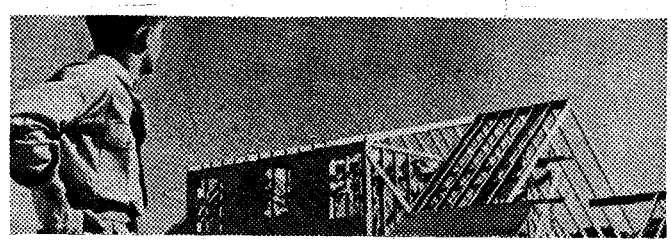
If we learn in the United States even better how to use our full productive power to meet full human needs and desires, here's what we can do in the next few years, say by 1960. We can lift our total national output, which was at an annual rate of $375 billion a few months ago, to about $500 billion 1960 annual rate or by about 1/3, not through longer hours, not through the forced pressures of war or a semi-war economy, not through controls, but just through releasing the tools and the technology and the manpower that we have so that they can work instead of lying idle. This is not taking into account what might be accomplished through atomic power or other extreme new scientific or technological developments.

With this growth, we could by 1960 bring every deserving family in the United States who has an income of less than $4,000 a year up to that level. And this would take only a small part of our increasing productive potential, so that we would have a preponderant amount left over, not through the process of government distribution, but through the workings of our economy, for added income all the way up and down the income structure according to talent and ability, invention and initiative and hard work and good luck.

We had an opportunity for about $60 billion worth of private business investment at an annual rate in the US last year before the decline started. By 1960, with our tools and our technology, we can bring that opportunity up to $85 billion at an annual rate. And with that enormous increase in the level of private business opportunity, plus a lifting of private consumer expenditures for a much higher standard of living from our annual rate in mid-1953 of about $230 billion to an annual rate of about $330 billion by 1960, there would still be room left over in a $500 billion economy to spend enough publicly for those things which the American people need and cannot otherwise provide. There would be enough to carry along national defense, the building of our resources, social security, housing, education and other programs, at a level consistent with what a great and free and growing people really needs; and, incidentally, to balance the budget at a 20 percent reduction in taxes because of the much bigger product.

But we need *policies and programs* to do this. Let us analyze some of the programs set forth in the Economic Report, measured against these needs and opportunities.

First of all, there is the field of housing. If we are going to use our tools and our technology and our resources, we are going to have to build an annual average of at least a million and a half to a million and three quarters houses between now and 1960, in order that



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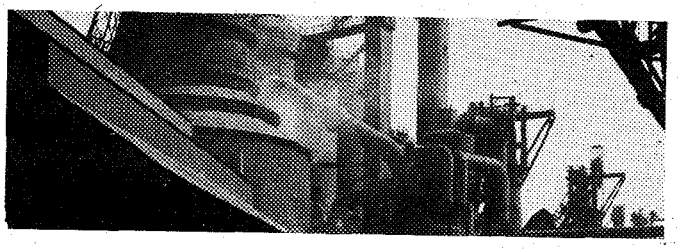
housing may play its vital role in providing employment —not only employment in the construction of housing, but employment in the production of things that go into houses and all the things that owners or home renters buy. We also need this many houses because even now there is an enormous number of families living in substandard housing, and there is a great number of slums to be cleared in rural and in urban areas. We do not yet have a truly American standard of housing. Yet the proposals which come forward in the Economic Report are generally thought to be geared to the objective of only about a million houses a year, which is what we built in 1925, 29 years ago, and 50 percent less than we built in 1950, which is four years ago at a time when we had to restrain house production below the needs of the people because we were entering into a defense program.

I cite as only one measure of contrast between the freezing of objectives which is taking place as to what kind of programs we need, based upon the standards of the past, and what we really need if we are going to move ahead on a basis of economic stability and growth and social justice.

And this is not only what our economy can afford to do, but also what our economy *needs* to do if we're going to avoid a depression in the longer run. We cannot adopt the philosophy of let's have just a few less automobiles this year because we've been producing too many; a few less houses because we've worked down the overcrowding; a little less farm production because we've had surpluses; a little less foreign aid because we can't afford it. All those "a little less's," when added up, are the bricks for the building of a depression house.

SOCIAL SECURITY is another example. In the field of social security the liberal program for a long time has been to extend coverage and to make adjustments in benefits. It is gratifying to see this program now being endorsed by others who earlier had opposed it. But even this expanded program is now far out of line with the economic and human needs of the period between 1954 and 1960. If we are going to achieve 70 million jobs by 1960, we will have such an enormous productive potential that maintaining the vast number of our people who will have reached the age of retirement at a $40 to $60 to $80 a month standard of retirement annuities on the average is not going to be consistent with our economic needs or our human responsibilities. It will not provide for that large part of the population who are retired the consumer purchasing power that we need to help keep our economy going at high speed. With our current and anticipated productive potential, the standard of living which the public recognizes as its obligation to those who have worked through their useful lives needs to be on the average about 2½ times as high as it is now, so far as old-age insurance protection is concerned.

For years now, even conservatives have accepted the idea that it doesn't make sense in the American economy to have only a 75-cent or a 65-cent minimum wage for



people working within our plentiful economy. We've learned that it isn't good for the industries which pay so low a wage; and it certainly isn't healthy competition with those enterprises which have already achieved and are trying to maintain a higher standard of living. Today, with our productive power greater than ever before, and with our need of building up consumption very urgent as the defense program is moved downward, we for the first time find an Economic Report throwing the weight of its influence against any increase in the minimum wage for American families *now* on the ground that it might cause unemployment. This involves the Economic Report in a curious contradiction. It is glowing in its statement of how prosperous we now are and will remain; but it is dismal as to what we can afford to do to expand the buying power essential for economic stability and growth. It is tremendously important that we apply a critical and careful eye to these programs which have such an enormous effect on our future, and that we ask ourselves not the question of whether they comply with what we were striving for five or 10 or 15 years ago, but whether they qualify as dynamic, vital growth programs for the years ahead.

In the area of national defense, I believe that we are taking a risk in so drastically reducing our outlays. But if we are really able to sustain national security and reduce by about $4 billion our outlays for defense, then I say that at least a part of that saving should go for the purpose of avoiding an even greater percentage reduction in our economic aid to certain needy parts of the free world—if we believe that economic progress in the long run may be as important as military machines in avoiding a third world war.

If we can afford, in terms of national security, to reduce our defense outlays by $4 billion a year, some small part of this saving should also go into improved services for education, for health and for resource development, which are now at too low a level relative to the size and needs of the whole economy. It is impossible to project over the next few years a sound and vital and growing economy if we do not have the kind of education, the kind of health services, the kind of resource development, which will provide a solid foundation upon which our private enterprise can grow and prosper. But the Economic Report does not project these principles and programs of growth and change which must keep up with our advancing potentials.

There are some merits in the financial program presented in the Economic Report, but not enough. What is happening is this: First of all, there is $1 billion in-

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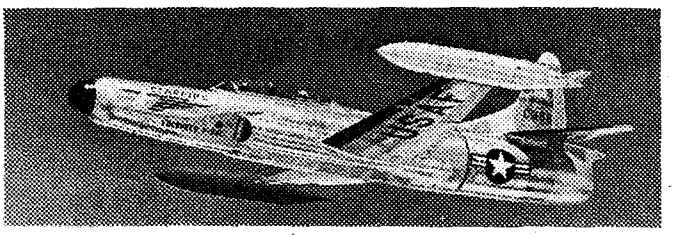
crease proposed in the tax on payrolls. About half of that is a tax on workers, and is a regressive tax. This tax may be necessary to maintain the soundness of the social-security system. In that event, since the economy has begun to turn downward basically because we do not have enough consumer buying power throughout the economy to support our productive capacity, the increasing payroll taxes should be counter-balanced more heavily than is proposed by tax changes applying to low-income families either through the raising of the personal income-tax exemptions or otherwise. In view of the need to expand mass purchasing power and yet to raise enough in tax revenues, I do not think it wise on balance to set in motion at this juncture a plan to give progressively more favorable tax treatment to dividend recipients—which may cost as much as $1 billion in tax revenues. Maybe we should do something in this direction to stimulate business investment, but this is too much. I think that selective tax concessions or incentives to active business, for example some types of tax amortization, can provide far more stimuli at far less cost. I am afraid that our tax structure is threatened with a general change away from the direction which has made for a stronger and healthier economy for all groups—the wealthy and well-to-do as well as the middle-income groups and the depressed. Experience does not justify the idea of watering the top of the tree and trusting that enough will trickle down to the bottom.

Within this decade, by 1960, we can practically obliterate wide-spread poverty from the face of the United States. We can create a real opportunity for an American standard of living for all. We can improve the average standard of living by about 40 percent between now and 1960. We can bring all those below a decent American standard of living up to that level. We can afford and need by 1960 a $25 billion addition to the annual opportunity for sound private business investment. We can balance the Federal Budget in the only way that a sound and progressive democratic country has ever been able to balance the Budget without neglecting human needs——by economic growth, and by realizing that the budget of the average American family and the budget and needs of the whole national economy are most important. In other words, the Budget of the federal government is really a part of the whole economy in action, and a means to promote full employment and full production. If we do all of this, we can have sound fiscal policies, a balanced Federal Budget over the years, and a 20-percent tax reduction by 1960.

Insofar as we work out and apply a program on this basis, which is as vital and as realistic and as dramatic and as sound and as adjusted to today and tomorrow as the programs of 1933 and of 1935 were to the problems of the New Deal—and even better adjusted because we have learned a lot—only then will we indeed be acting in the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt when he said: "Let us move forward with strong and active faith."



DEFENSE: Between Words and Deeds

by Roswell L. Gilpatric

THE MILITARY program recommended in the President's Budget Message was the first concrete expression of the Administration's new defense doctrine in terms of dollars; as such it at once raises questions of consistency between word and deed.

As Secretary of State Dulles said in his recent speech to the Council on Foreign Relations, the basic policy of the Eisenhower Administration on national and collective security is to place more reliance on the deterrent force of massive retaliatory power and less dependence on local defensive power. From the President's State of the Union Message it appeared that this capacity to retaliate was to be provided mainly through air power. Indeed, both in that Message and in the later Budget Message we were assured that "added" and "heavy emphasis" would be placed on air power.

It is, therefore, surprising—to say the least—to find that under the proposed Budget for fiscal year 1955 air power is not accorded the anticipated dollar priority among our military programs.

It is, of course, true, as the President said in his Budget Message, that during fiscal year 1955 there will be greater expenditures for air power than in any year since World War II. But those expenditures are largely the result of appropriations made two years ago when the Air Force's share represented 42 percent of the defense dollar. Under the current year's Budget, as reduced last Spring by the new Administration, the Air Force's share was cut to about 33 1/3 percent. In next year's Budget, even after reflecting the heavy reductions in funds for the Army as a result of the cessation of hostilities in Korea, the amount of new money recommended for the Air Force is still only 38 percent of the total proposed for all of the armed forces.

Nor would it appear that the promised growth in air power is to be provided through the air arms of the other services. The air elements of the Navy and the Marines are not to be materially augmented for the future. Their

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combined air strength is to remain at its present level of 19 wings, and of the new procurement authority to be provided the Navy and the Marines in the fiscal year 1955 Budget, only about 50 percent is for aircraft.

On the other hand, an undisclosed but apparently not inconsiderable part of the Navy's new money is to go toward modernization of the Fleet. It would seem, therefore, that the "centrally located and readily deployable strategic reserves," which are stressed in the President's State of the Union Message, are to consist in part of surface vessels. A considerable number of these ships are to be kept in commission despite the announced lay-up of one battleship and one heavy cruiser. Whether "mobility of action" thus provided is in keeping with logistics concepts suitable for the second half of the 20th Century is a question for the experts.

The doubts produced by the Defense Dollar allocations in the new Budget are not relieved by the aircraft statistics cited in the Budget Message. While our total active inventory is to be increased during the next three years from 33,000 to 40,000 planes, the rate of conversion to jet propulsion—a far more significant measure of modern combat air power than mere numbers of planes—is not impressive. By 1957 half instead of one-third of our planes are to be jet powered—a gain of only 17 percent in three years.

All in all, the new Budget scarcely bears out its advance billing as representing a "shift in emphasis to the full exploitation of air power." What that discrepancy between word and deed will mean when it comes to backing up the new policy of primary reliance on air atomic power remains to be seen. The first manifestation of that policy is certainly not reassuring.

AID FOR OUR ALLIES: Target Number One

by Michael Straight

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has called for continuing programs for overseas military and economic aid. These programs, he assures the Congress, "will enable us to hold our newly won initiative in world affairs and move toward a lasting peace." This may prove to be true. But the programs are reduced in size and are military in emphasis.

Military Aid. In the President's budget, military aid is separated from economic aid and treated as part of our own military effort. The new obligational authority, which was $4.2 billion in 1953, and $3.8 billion in 1954, is cut to $2.5 billion for 1955. This represents a sharp curtailment on the assumption that allied forces will shift from a buildup to a maintenance basis. For the immediate future, however, delays in placing contracts have led to a $2 billion carryover from funds previously appropriated, so that, if the President's program is enacted, actual expenditures and deliveries will continue at the $4 billion level for 1955 and most of 1956.

For the past three years our major military-aid effort has been the buildup of NATO's defensive power. For naval forces this has meant principally a transfer of existing ships, and so the NATO goals have been largely met. For NATO's armies, aid has meant the provision of equipment for NATO's divisions. Many of these planned divisions have not been formed, so requirements for US aid have been reduced.

NATO's air power has been its worst weakness.

The United States has accepted the role of providing and manning the very heavy bombers based in Europe and Europe's African possessions. We have further equipped the NATO nations with auxiliary aircraft, and with a first-class type of fighter-bomber, able to carry atomic bombs. In contrast, European nations have wished to design and build their own day interceptors and all-weather fighters. The United States has accepted this decision and provided $500 million in offshore purchases to accelerate the production of French and British models which our experts have certified to be first class.

Eighteen months after the air goals were set, British production is substantial, but the French fighter, the *Mystere,* has been far from jet-powered in moving from the drawing board to the production line. The United States continues to provide as many training, transport and reconnaissance planes as Europe's air crews, maintenance staffs and air fields can absorb. But Europe remains dangerously weak in air defense. Should war come, it seems probable that the Soviet Air Force would quickly gain command of the air over Europe. From that time on, the reinforcement of Europe's armies, and the provision of her peoples, would be almost impossible. We can risk this outcome or call for a substantially larger air defense for Europe, based on US fighters. Congress and the Administration seem to choose the first course.

Beyond NATO, the largest item is military aid to Indo-China. Last year we provided almost $800 million in military aid. The projected sum is probably as large. The critical problem of 1954 will be whether we can win success or even a stalemate in Indo-China with American equipment, or whether US troops will be called for.

Economic Aid. Net expenditures for economic aid to free nations have been cut in half since President Eisenhower took office, and are estimated at $1,028 million for 1955, as against $1,555 million in 1954, and $1,960 million in 1953.

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The cut is far more substantial because the new estimates include the program for Korean reconstruction.

In Korea, the UN has failed so far in the task of maintaining a viable Korean economy. Today the US is offering to provide 65 percent of a UN reconstruction program of $90 million. But the bulk of US aid to Korea, amounting to $1 billion over three years, and $250 million next year, is to be a US program, subject to the Rhee Administration, and only remotely linked to the UN. This shift in emphasis comes as a bitter disappointment to experts who fear corruption and believe that the first battlefield of the UN should be its first show place of reconstruction.

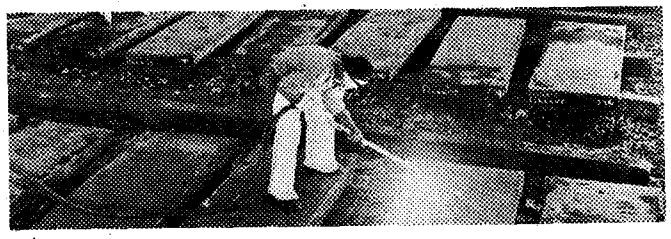
In Europe, the economic aid that has been the cement of Western unity since the war is all but ended. Small amounts are proposed for special areas—Spain, Greece, Turkey and Berlin; for the rest, offshore procurement for military items is intended to provide the dollars needed for imported necessities of life.

The absolute level of living standards is slowly falling in Asia; the gap widens between Asia's poverty and our wealth as rapidly as our concern for this gap is diminishing. The economic program to raise Asia's living standards was cut drastically by the Eisenhower Administration in last year's budget and now is projected for 1955, at the same, lowered level. About $200 million may be asked for the Near East, India and Pakistan, a little more for all the rest of Asia. Apart from Formosa, where US expenditures per capita are $12 a year, economic and technical assistance expenditures for Asia amount to about 50 cents for each person.

Not all Asia is endangered. The darkest spot at the moment is Indonesia, hit by falling prices of rubber and tin. The federal government is losing its control on the islands that make up Indonesia, production is falling, reserves are declining, the Communists are gaining influence in the government and the National Party. In Japan, the long-range picture is almost as alarming. For all Asia, history may well confirm that these were the years in which free societies began to collapse, societies which might have been saved had America undertaken to expand greatly, rather than meagerly contract, her role.

In many Asian nations, the capacity to absorb capital or training is of course limited by technical problems, poor government or narrow nationalism. Where nationalism is a factor, the possibilities of US aid are further limited by the growing identification of our aid with the pursuit of US military and political objectives.

Still worse is the slow disintegration of the staff put together under President Truman. Of 1,800 posts in the technical assistance program, 500 are unoccupied, thanks to demoralization and screening procedures. In Washington, the agency built by Paul Hoffman and his successors has become a one-man band of Harold Stassen and seems likely to fall apart entirely by June. This process will without doubt be hastened by a Congressional onslaught in the name of economy on the rock-bottom programs the President has sent to Capitol Hill.



LABOR: Patchwork and "Happy Thoughts"

by Richard A. Lester

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER was elected on a platform friendly to labor. He pledged himself to "support and strengthen" the laws that protect labor, to defend the rights of unions, to so conduct himself that at the end, the workers of America could say, "He has been fair; he has been my friend."

To these workers the Taft-Hartley Act is neither fair nor friendly; nor is a Chief Executive who perpetuates its wrongs. President Eisenhower, advancing the curious doctrine that the Taft-Hartley Act was "built upon" the Wagner Act, proposes in turn to "build on" the Taft-Hartley Act. His program, contained in the message of January 11, and reportedly written by Secretary of Commerce Weeks, seems to many experts to retain the basic evils of the Act, and to advance proposals discredited by recent experience.

Underlying the Taft-Hartley law are a number of erroneous notions that make it such an unsatisfactory piece of legislation. They include: that workers need federal statutory protection from their elected leaders, that such protection can be provided by federally supervised polls of employees on their union's demands, that the federal government must regulate the terms of collective-bargaining agreements to prevent employers from making mistakes, that the injunction should be the main instrument of government intervention in labor disputes, and that a federal labor-relations law should be an omnibus act, designed to end all alleged evils associated with the activities of any individual union.

The Eisenhower message to Congress accepts those misleading assumptions, while professing a contrary philosophy. The 14 specific recommendations are prefaced by a statement that federal legislation "should impose neither arbitrary restrictions nor heavy-handedness upon a relationship in which goodwill and sympathetic understanding should be the predominant characteristic."

That precept is completely violated by the series of legislative proposals that follow, providing additional federal interference with collective bargaining, more federal

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regulation of labor agreements, another secret ballot designed to show up union leaders, and a strange new mixture of court injunction and *ad hoc* mediation in cases of unfair labor practice. New "happy thoughts" are recommended for enactment; the omnibus approach to labor-relations legislation is embraced with no regard for consistency.

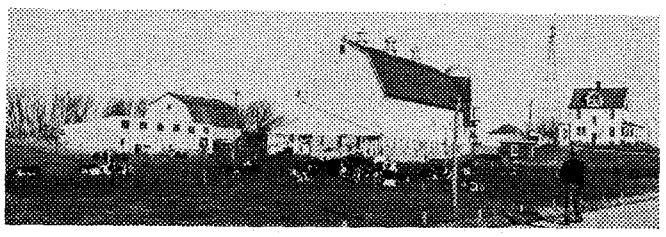
Bungle after bungle has characterized the Administration's handling of Taft-Hartley changes. A tri-partite committee, improperly conceived and instructed, blew up last Spring. Thereafter, a series of behind-the-scenes meetings culminated in the draft of a Presidential message to Congress containing 19 recommendations. Held up by Senator Taft's death, that July, 1952, message was never officially sent. It was "leaked" to the *Wall Street Journal*, followed by an employer campaign to alter its contents and by Secretary Durkin's resignation and charge that the Administration had reneged.

The success of the campaign to force the Administration to retreat to a more anti-union position is evident from an analysis of the recommendations in the "unsent" message of last July that were dropped or retained in the 1954 recommendations and study of the 1954 message's six new proposals. The extent of the President's capitulation to management pressure is also clear from a comparison of the 1954 recommendations with the Taft amendments adopted by the Senate in 1949.

Of the 19 recommendations in last July's message, 10 favorable to labor were dropped from the 1954 message, along with one to study administration of the Act, which is not needed for "packing" the National Labor Relations Board now that it has an Eisenhower-appointed majority. Apparently, the Administration no longer supports legislation to permit hiring hall arrangements like those in the maritime industry, or to eliminate the severe penalty of complete loss of employee status if a worker participates in a strike during the 60-day notice period, or to cancel the one-sided grant of precedence to state legislation on union security if it is more anti-union than the federal act.

None of Ike's six new proposals favors labor; two are decidedly anti-union. Free reign for employer intervention in employee elections disregards the question of whose representatives are being chosen. Experience has abundantly proved that government strike polls are wasteful and stimulate and prolong strikes by displacing negotiation with electioneering and by solidifying positions. The President, who campaigned on a promise of fair-minded treatment for labor, fails to match his strike-poll proposal with one for a corresponding poll of stockholders on union demands. And, instead of discarding the discredited emergency disputes section of the Act, he seeks to patch it up by incongruously tacking on a provision for settlement suggestions by boards of inquiry.

Fortunately, the Eisenhower recommendations appear to have little prospect of enactment at this session of the Congress. Apparently, fair and intelligent labor-relations legislation must wait on another test at the polls, so that the atmosphere of 1949 can be recaptured.



AGRICULTURE: Bipartisan Failure

by C. Clyde Mitchell

THE PRESIDENT'S proposals ranged from a "Fair Deal" idea, direct subsidies to wool growers, to the opposite, "conservative" end of the political scale—flexible price supports. Aside from these extremes, they suggested nothing really new. They continue almost unchanged the subsidies, controls and assistance to agriculture which have grown up during the past 20 years. In my opinion there are three major shortcomings, and these may be serious enough to presage the failure of the Administration's farm program from political and economic standpoints.

1. Flexible price supports are probably unworkable. The President has accepted the idea that whenever supplies outrun demand, the farmer can and should reduce production, and that declining price is the proper method of forcing reduction. To some Americans this appears at first glance to be merely the application of simple economic principles. However, I am certain: (a) that the desired effect (curtailment of production) will not be achieved (farmers, unlike most businessmen, increase production in the face of falling price) and (b) that to curtail production is a mistake.

This concept as to "the regulating role of price in the American economy" has of course been held by members of both political parties. However, the flexible price scheme was adopted in the Republican 80th Congress, postponed by the Democratic 81st and 82nd Congresses, and now reaffirmed by a Republican Administration. Thus, it is fair to say that the flexible-support idea is in the main a Republican concept. The next two shortcomings I shall mention are attributable both to Democratic and Republican Administrations of the last few years.

2. Consumption expansion is the answer—not production decrease. A number of agricultural economists, the writer included, believe that the proper thing to do with our actual and potential surpluses is to put them to human use. The unsatisfied need for food and fiber, both in the United States and throughout the world, is tremendous. There are no surpluses in the human sense—only in the economic sense that "effective demand"

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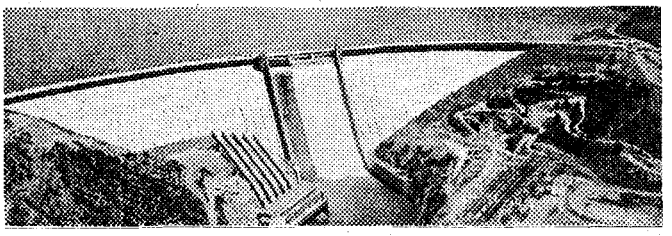
(money) is not available to needy humans. The destruction of food, existing or potential, would be undesirable, particularly in the tense world of today. Such destruction is inevitable in any program that seeks to "adjust agricultural production downward to demand." This course would provide effective propaganda for our enemies.

Neither reductions nor destruction are good answers. A greatly expanded set of action programs should put better food in the stomachs of low-income people, both at home and abroad. (Of course, these programs must be co-ordinated with broad programs of economic development in the underdeveloped areas lest the only result be population increase.) These programs obviously will be expensive for a few years at least. However, within a relatively short time, we will have succeeded in creating more customers for more and better agricultural products, customers who can pay reasonable prices. Such programs as international commodity distribution, school lunches, industrial feeding, food-stamp plans for distribution to low-income persons—these have been tried on a very limited basis under past Administrations. A few of them are being continued, particularly in the President's request that some of our existing surpluses be distributed for such purposes. However, neither political party has been willing to adopt wholeheartedly the principle that whenever supply rises above demand the correct thing to do in most cases is to attempt to raise demand, not reduce supply. Unless a far-reaching program of consumption expansion is undertaken, any price-support program, flexible or fixed, will prove to be exceedingly costly. They will fail because the 87 percent of the American people who do not live on farms will be reluctant to pay the bill.

3. No price-support program can solve the problem of the low-income farmers. This group is very large— at least one-third of our 5.3 million farm families now live far below "an American level of decency." A price squeeze will not force such farmers into a better life. They can be helped, however. The Farm Security Administration proved that in the early 40s, helping them to reorganize their inadequate farms, engage in a more intensive type of agriculture—usually livestock—and achieve a more respectable living level. To do these things required a considerable amount of governmental assistance, supervision and education, plus credit at reasonable rates. These programs cost money but there is no doubt that they repaid many times their modest cost, both to the individuals and to society generally. That agency, renamed the Farmers' Home Administration in recent years, has been cut down to the point where it is virtually helpless in the face of the poverty problem in agriculture.

If agriculture's worst problems are to be solved, I believe that the government action programs I have mentioned must be expanded. Administrations of the past, after initiating programs of consumption expansion and low-income farm assistance on a relatively small scale, never pushed for their expansion. This Administration is making the same mistake.



RESOURCES: Liquidation on the Installment Plan

by Michael W. Straus

DURING the past several decades the American flag has been flying over an increasing number of public powerhouses and transmission lines—nailed there by a succession of Congresses fixing a national power policy. And the supporters of that policy assumed that legislation would be required to reverse it; they accordingly girded for a legislative battle. But their enemies have avoided the embarrassment of Congressional debate on hauling down the flags by simply omitting a lot of items from the budget, allegedly in deference to the desires of "state and local groups, public or private." Since the states and the public groups—usually very articulate when they want something—were strangely mute, the private groups spoke for them.

The omissions in the Reclamation and various power-agency appropriations are such that, in the absence of a political reversal, they forecast liquidation on the installment plan. President Eisenhower asked $155 million for Reclamation. Presidential requests are usually trimmed 10 to 15 percent by Congress. During the previous five years of Democratic rule, the actual annual Reclamation appropriation was $273 million. The present Administration's dissection of the Reclamation appropriation was accomplished by excising public power, avoiding new starts on irrigation as well as on generation projects, and by merely continuing on a retarded basis inherited going-construction jobs which were so far advanced they could not be stopped without a political explosion.

The Tennessee Valley Authority and such agencies as the Bonneville, Southwest and Southeast Power Administrations were similarly cut back. All are big revenue producers for the Treasury, but in the economy budget, they were cut more heavily than agencies which produce no revenue at all. The Army Corps of Engineers, which recently committed the sin of letting some of its water fall through public-power turbines, also received a considerable cut. But non-power resources activities, undefiled by "creeping socialism," such as the National Park and the Fish and Wildlife Services, the National Forests and the Bureau of Mines, appear not to have been

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budgeted into any new policy. They will receive virtually the same financing as last year, but, considering growing demand, this only continues their condition of eternal hope and unfulfilled programs.

The budget message reads, "recommendations for the national-resource program are based on a reappraisal of the responsibility which the federal government should exercise." The appraisers are not identified. The message proclaims a Presidential conviction that almost anybody can do the resource job better than the President's own agencies. It defers at length to those prerogatives and skills that states and local bodies have thus far been either unwilling or unable to exercise.

A request for funds for Hell's Canyon, standard in later-day Democratic budgets, is glaringly absent. Instead is substituted a fascinating paragraph that wigwags some entirely new formula of federal-local resource relationship to be spelled out in "proposed legislation" —not as yet either proposed or disclosed. The reference seems to be to some expensive bait expected to lure "local groups" into undertaking some of the functions the Administration is dodging or abandoning in its hegira down the "middle of the road." This reads:

> In accordance with this Administration's policy of encouraging state and local undertaking there is included in the budget an initial appropriation of $10 million under proposed legislation to enable the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation to co-operate with states, local governments or private groups in the development of their water resources.

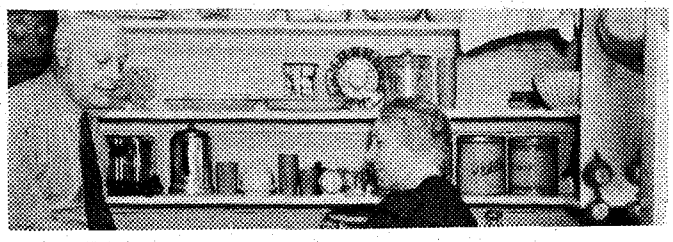
Watch the enterprising private enterprisers of the power lobby, who planted this, pick it up and run! Under that philosophy the "private groups" (*i.e.* power companies) could not only get the public damsites for free, but also have the dams thrown in. At least they would be "encouraged" to do so to the tune of $10 million direct subsidy as "an initial appropriation."

Presidential budget messages are curious but important items. Hard-boiled bureaucrats and Congressmen, who have midwifed many budgets through gestation and delivery, frequently study the vast tables and ignore the prose as "a campaign document" principally for public consumption. But figures are facts, so it is to the figures that President Eisenhower's favorite "deeds not words" test is most applicable.

The resource sections of this Presidential text run true to the budget style book of double talk designed to keep the Executive out of political trouble. There is the standard genuflection to " . . . the responsibility of the federal government . . ." and the standard proclamation: "Emphasis has been given to careful planning to insure sound development of our natural resources." Included, too, is the perennial paragraph: "A strong program of resource conservation and development is necessary to support the progressively expanding demands of our increasing population and to contribute to the economic growth and security of the nation." That's stock "budgetese" found in every annual budget of every President back to Warren G. Harding. But the figures don't support this prose. No strong program of resource development is provided.

In the Western water and power-development section, historically the largest and about the only reimbursable items under resource development, big changes are shown —for the past dynamic programs there has been substituted a declining endeavor headed toward liquidation as the inherited building program is completed.

From the viewpoint of either friends or enemies of public water and power development, policy without program is meaningless. Nobody in 17 dry Western states is going to get an acre-foot of water or a low-cost kilowatt from Reclamation through application of the best, most liberal, progressive of proclaimed policies to a non-existent program.



SOCIAL SECURITY:

Constructive if Not Bold

by John F. Kennedy

OUR ELDER citizens today, I am certain, view with more concern than amusement the great debate between the defenders of "rolling readjustment" and the "prophets of doom and gloom." For they know from the experience and statistics of recent years that, save where rigid seniority rules apply, the older worker is among the first laid off—and the last to find another job. The prevalence of compulsory retirement in industry, and the inability of the current aged to qualify under the thousands of new pension plans, gained through collective bargaining, add to the older worker's concern over an inadequate social-security program which has not been substantially revised in four years. This concern should be shared by all of us who are determined to maintain the living standards and purchasing power of all Americans regardless of the future course of our economy. To implement our views on needed changes in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program (OASI), Sen. Herbert Lehman (D-Lib, N. Y.) and a group of Democrats (and

Sen. John F. Kennedy (D, Mass.) is a member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

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one Independent) in the Senate, including myself, introduced last June S 2260, the provisions of which are outlined below. Companion bills were filed in the House by Rep. John Dingell (D, Mich.) and others; and the labor, social welfare and other organizations seeking social-security improvements have hoped for early action by Congress along these lines.

It was gratifying, therefore, to read the social-security message of President Eisenhower and examine the Administration bill introduced by Rep. Daniel Reed (R, N.Y.). It was, in my opinion, the President's most constructive message to date, and motivated by more than the up-coming elections. A tabular comparison of the President's proposals with our Democratic bill, as I have set forth below, illustrates the broad scope of his message.

President Eisenhower's recommendations for coverage extension and a more flexible retirement test or "work clause" are excellent. His return to the scheduled increases in the contribution rate is a commendable change of position from one year ago. His refusal to merge Old Age and Survivors Insurance with the "means-test" Old Age Assistance Program was a rebuff to those—including the Chairman of the House Social Security Subcommittee—who seek this means of undermining the contributory trust fund. His call for a freezing of benefit rights for the disabled is in sharp contradiction to those Republicans who were able to prevent the effective adoption of such an increase in 1952.

But the comparison set forth below reveals that the Administration recommendations are still not bold enough or big enough to meet fully the inadequacies in the present law. (1) The most glaring gap in American social insurance today is the absence of disability benefits; and the 45-year-old amputee facing 20 lean years before he becomes eligible for "retirement" benefits does not find his needs met by a reassurance that his benefit status has been frozen. (2) One of the most serious inequities which makes the present law difficult for many persons to understand is the lack of a benefit increment for additional years of paid-in service, an inequity left untouched by the Eisenhower proposals. (3) In order to make all of the earnings of 96 percent of covered workers subject to the Act, as they were in 1939, the wage base must be increased to $6,000, not $4,200. (4) Higher minimum and maximum benefits, (5) a higher benefits basis and formula, (6) a higher amount of permissible outside earnings, and (7) rehabilitation and sickness benefits are among the other items where I believe the Administration bill falls short.

(8) Moreover, the President's message was vague on financing, omitted mention of the eventual tax increase provided in the Reed Bill, and gave only an assurance that all would be well "for at least the next 15 to 25 years." Is this an indication that the President still seeks to open the door to the irresponsible pay-as-you-go system of financing?

In view of the Republican record on social security over the years, and the known attitude of those presently high in Republican circles or favor, it will require a determined effort by the men of good will in both parties to insure passage in 1954 of a comprehensively strengthened Social-Security Law.

HR 7199 (Eisenhower Proposals, 1-14-54)	S 2260 (Democratic Proposals, 7-1-53)
Coverage	
Extended to an additional 10.5 million people annually; excludes Armed Services and federal employees, who will be the subject of a separate report.	Extended to an additional 13 million persons annually, including some federal employees and Armed Services; but excludes doctors and some state and local government employees covered by Eisenhower's message.
Minimum Benefits	
Increased from $25 to $30 a month.	Increased from $25 to $35 a month.
Maximum Benefits	
For individuals, from $85 to $108.50 a month; for families, from $168.75 to $190.	For individuals from $85 to $135; for families, from $168.75 to $200.
Wage Base Benefits	
Increased from $3,600 to $4,200 a year.	Increased from $3,600 to $6,000 a year.
Benefits Basis	
Eliminates four lowest years of earnings in computing average earnings on which benefits are based.	Eliminates in effect all years of low earnings by using only the 10 highest consecutive years of covered earnings in computing average earnings on which benefits are based.
Revision of Benefit Formula	
Higher percentage replacement of earnings in middle-income brackets. No increment for additional years of employment and contributions. No credit for delayed retirement.	Higher percentage replacement of earnings in middle-income brackets. Increment of ½% a year for additional years of employment and contributions. 2% increase in benefits for each year retirement is delayed past age 65.
Retirement Test	
Placed on annual basis, whereby the first $1,000 of annual earnings ($83.33 a month) is exempted, and one month's benefits are deducted for each additional $80 earned.	The amount of permissible monthly earnings is raised from $75 to $100.
Benefits for Disabled Persons	
Insured status and benefit rights of persons totally disabled over six months are frozen, to prevent reduction of benefits from years of no earnings. No benefits payable until age 65.	Benefits immediately payable to persons permanently and totally disabled, regardless of age. Retirement benefits payable at age 65 will not be based on years of no earnings.
Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons	
Expansion of rehabilitation services (In Message on Health).	Extensive expansion of rehabilitation services; and monthly cash rehabilitation benefits while rehabilitation continues.
Temporary Disability or Illness	
No provision.	Cash insurance benefits up to 26 weeks a year for temporarily sick or disabled.
Financing	
Final contribution rate (just raised to 2% on employers and employees) to be increased to 3½% of taxable payroll in 1970, instead of 3¼%; and tax on self-employed to be increased to 5¼% instead of 4⅞%.	Increase in both the frequency and amount of raises in the contribution rate to a peak of 4% of taxable payroll in 1961; and 5¼% for the self-employed in 1961.

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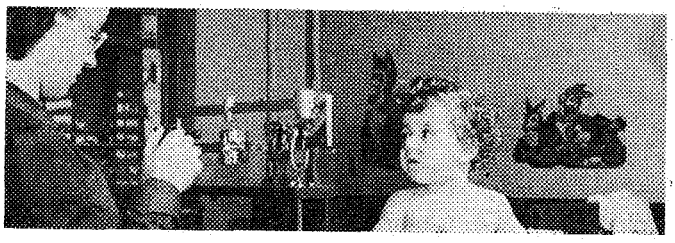

HEALTH: The President Accepts the Obligation

by Michael M. Davis

"THE MEANS for achieving good health should be accessible to all. A person's location, occupation, age, race, creed or financial status should not bar him from enjoying this access." This statement by President Eisenhower in his Message to Congress of January 18 is essentially the same as Franklin D. Roosevelt's pronouncement 10 years earlier, declaring that "adequate medical care" is one of the "basic human rights" of all Americans. The acceptance of some substantial responsibility on the part of the federal government for maintaining and improving the health of our people thus becomes a bipartisan policy, or rather an American policy which no future Administration is likely to change.

President Eisenhower's comments on the health needs of this country repeat, as far as they go, the findings of a long series of studies by private and governmental bodies, starting with the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care in 1932, ending with the report issued two years ago by the Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. "Two of the key problems in the field of health today," says President Eisenhower, "are the distribution of medical facilities and the costs of medical care." The President omits another major problem, the shortage of personnel—physicians, dentists, nurses and others—and the grave financial condition of most of the medical and allied professional schools. It is implied in the message that better distributed hospitals and clinics would help to bring doctors into rural areas. But are there enough doctors altogether to go around, or enough educational facilities to maintain the needed numbers with our expanding population? On these points the message is silent.

The recommendations actually made by the President fall short of the "vigor and imagination" required to meet even the needs which his message describes.

It is gratifying that the President recommends the continuance and in some cases the expansion of policies which, established in previous Administrations, have been generally recognized as beneficial; for example, support of medical research conducted by or with the aid of the federal government as well as by other funds; grants-in-aid to the states to extend and improve public-health services; and enlargement of the scope of the Hospital Survey and Construction (Hill-Burton) Act, so that not only conventional hospitals could be aided, but in addition, the construction of non-profit facilities for the chronically ill, for rehabilitation, for nursing homes and for "diagnostic treatment centers for ambulatory patients." The recommendation of larger federal grants to the states for rehabilitation of disabled persons goes beyond any other part of the message in recognizing the human as well as the economic worth of the individual.

On the other hand, the only proposal to meet the outstanding problem of the costs of medical care is "a limited federal reinsurance service to encourage private and non-profit health-insurance organizations to offer broader health protection to more families." Until the President's reinsurance plan is made definite in a bill—it is understood that several weeks' delay may be expected—it is impossible to judge it exactly. No scheme of reinsuring some existing health insurance plans, however, can touch the two main needs of the situation: first, to get costs down so low-income groups can afford health insurance; and second, to offer comprehensive medical service, including prevention of illness as well as its care. Reinsurance, unless a bill is carefully drawn with this purpose in mind, might not assist at all; it might even discourage, the health-insurance plans which are comprehensive. Reinsurance will not bring down premium charges, and—especially if commercial insurance policies were federally insured—might merely assist some existing plans to cover more high-cost illness and add to their present over-emphasis on hospitalization and surgery.

The President's message must be viewed not only in the perspective of preceding Administrations but also in comparison with proposals already made by members of his own party in the present Congress. Chairman Wolverton of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has already introduced several health bills, one of which, providing aid to non-profit insurance plans offering comprehensive medical service through group medical practice, would promote the most forward-looking and advantageous type of health insurance we have in the United States. A group of Republicans including Senators Ives and Flanders, Representatives Javits, Scott and Hale have put in a bill for a comprehensive national health program including financial help to the medical and nursing schools, grants-in-aid to ensure public-health services for all our people, and a broad scheme of federal-state subsidy to enable voluntary insurance plans which provide adequate medical service to lower their charges and thus enroll many more persons. These proposals go far beyond the President's. Whether Congress will enact any health legislation of importance this year is doubtful; but it is evident that the present Administration accepts national health action as a political obligation. Hearings expected before Senate and House Committees on all these and on other health bills will be enlightening to the public and perhaps even to the leaders of the AMA.

Michael M. Davis is Chairman of the Executive Committee, Committee for the Nation's Health.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

POLITICS FOR THE UNPOLITICAL

by Leslie A. Fiedler

THE IDEAS of this charming book I find movingly inadequate. It neither fulfills the boast of its title, nor defines, as its attempts, the nature and limitations of totalitarianism. With politics itself, that is, with the science of the relationship of ethics and power it cannot deal because it makes power into an absolute principle absolutely opposed to those "standards of value" Mr. Woolf considers civilized. With totalitarianism it cannot come to grips, because its author still inhabits a blessed world of goodness and rationality which makes him incapable of participating imaginatively in the modern total state. Compared with the analysis of Hannah Arendt, Mr. Woolf's seems superficial and banal. I do not mean, of course, that he is uninformed (about the Soviet Union in theory and practice he knows a great deal), but that much of what he says remains irrelevant. He was much more convincing, much more at home, in the earlier volumes of the series of which this is a third, when he dealt with nationalism, patriotism and imperialism, those comparatively innocent evils that we have come almost to regret.

PRINCIPIA POLITICA, by Leonard Woolf (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

Not, then, as a political guide, but as the comment, autobiographical and theoretical, of "a detached observor of the antics of the human ant-heap," of a kind of commentator now disappearing, the book is endlessly fascinating. The humane tone strikes us first, the voice that neither shouts nor bullies nor nags us, but converses as if we all still sat not in the public meeting hall but in a drawing room; then, the genuine tolerance, based not in indifference but on an irony inimical to self-righteousness: "You should, in fact, call no man wicked until he (or, better still, you) is dead." But there is also a feeling of non-implication, hard to explain, for Mr. Woolf was first a civil servant in Ceylon, then for a long time active in politics and journalism. Perhaps, it is because his formative years were spent in the most favored class of the most favored country at its optimum prosperity and security. One of the most appealing sections of the book is the description of Mr. Woolf's life in his father's household, which employed nineteen persons as domestic help in an atmosphere as unfallen as the original Garden. Surely, there has never been a situation less suited for giving one a sense of the plight of most of humanity at any point in human history. In certain ways, Mr. Woolf has more than kept up with the times; his tastes in painting and music (his examples of excellence are Piero and the late Beethoven quartets) have moved with current preference; he has read Freud and Jung, and is aware of the recent objections to much he most dearly believes; but he remains unredeemably the young man who had lunch with the Empress Eugenie, separated from the majority of us by a line as sharp as any he draws between barbarity and civilization.

The most intimate relationships revealed in the book are with animals; he moves in a house of memories with a cat, a dog, a monkey, a leopard, and no children. A twenty-page digression on the training and natures of household pets (which includes the observation that "the dog is the only animal I know that seems, like the Christian, to believe in the doctrine of original sin") reveals him at his most tender and penetrating, and he abandons it unwillingly. "I must leave now, regretfully I admit, the inferior animals and return to man. . . . "

He does not seem at first glance to have a very high regard for mankind, as his phrase about the human ant-heap has already indicated. Pessimism would seem his most typical attitude. "Stupidity" and "insanity" are almost his favorite epithets, and he is quite willing to ascribe a major part of our political ills to general idiocy. "If there are such things as ordinary decent human beings," he interrupts himself bitterly at one point; and at another informs us that "the human animal is born with the instinct for unhappiness." But he does not finally seem to believe this; his deprecation of the human strikes us a kind of pose, a way of declaring one's independence from fashionable optimism, easy enough in the days when the loudest cynics *really* thought humanity fundamentally sound.

Explaining why things are not as bad in our world as we might expect, Mr. Woolf betrays himself by noting, "First, there is the fundamental decency of human nature . . ." and in another place, assures his reader that "the ordinary man shows a sound judgment and a civilized standard of values, which priests and other interested parties . . . continually attempt . . . to pervert."

It is this notion of a basically honest mankind led astray by the insidious clergy which most dates the *Principia Politica.* Mr. Woolf tells us that it was the achievement of his generation at the University to have cast overboard the belief in God; and much as he says and *knows* that the chief enemy of freedom at the moment is Communism, the passion and fire of his attack are directed against the Churches. Until they learn to laugh at their Gods, he tells us "the majority of Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists will remain uncivilized." Later, he repents to a certain extent, admitting that "Mohammedanism is not entirely sadistic, and the Buddhism of the ordinary man . . . is almost a cheerful and humane religion," but Christianity is hopelessly committed to blood, masochism and the disgusting belief that one can eat God.

It is only when he identifies Stalinism with religion, when he is deeply enough immersed in the metaphors of dogma and heresy and scholasticism (a metaphorical identification that makes it impossible for him to discriminate the pecular characteristics of modern totalitarianism) that he can rise to a high pitch of denunciation. The old-fashioned anti-ecclesiastical bias leads to a wilful blindness that engenders such extraordinary judgments as "Only the superb poetry of Job conceals its essential weakness and silliness."

The source of all evil is Sinai and the

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source of all strength Athens, "where human beings enjoyed for a brief moment a lucid interval in their chronic lunacy. . . ." Only the Greeks spoke for love and reason as opposed to sin and fear. Needless to say, it is a purely mythical, an English Public School Greece which exists for Mr. Woolf, a Greece *without* slavery or fear of the body, in which Socrates died as a champion of democracy! The point is, of course, that the Greeks aimed at being gentlemen rather than saints, or as Mr. Woolf prefers to put it, that they possessed "a sense of humor." Moreover, they tended toward the secular, and where they did not, Mr. Woolf is prepared to help them along. "In the Oedipus plays," he asserts in the most astonishing of his expurgations, "the awkward problem of guilt, of sin and punishment is played down as much as possible."

It is from Greece that a Libertarian tradition descends, through continual betrayals, as far as Marx and Engels, "who spoke the language of Pericles." Mr. Woolf, though not a Marxian, shares certain socialist ideas and aspirations, and he cannot really understand why the followers of Marx whose "ultimate aims and objectives, I believe, of the highest" should have produced the worst of totalitarian states. For Hitler and Mussolini he has a sort of environmental explanation, viewing them as the products of the social situation which otherwise makes gangsters (Rome, Berlin and Chicago); but for Stalinism he cannot get much further than "human silliness" and the converting of Marxist theory into "metaphysical scholasticism." But it is hard to see how "political insanity" or even a confusion of means and ends can lead a Stalinist bureaucracy, "committed by their social tradition to the application of reason and humanity to the affairs of state and society," to the worst of crimes against humanity, unless there is a joker in the very notions of "reason" and "humanity." But this Mr. Woolf is not prepared to grant.

It is interesting to notice Mr. Woolf's stand on a particular and current political problem, the War in Korea, which he describes as "suffering . . . inflicted . . . by the Governments of Russia, the United States, China and Britain upon millions of ignorant men, women and children," and which he finds equally reprehensible in its terror and pointlessness with Hitler's extermination of the Jews, Stalin's killing off of the kulaks, and, naturally, the Albigensian Crusade.

Surely, this is an extraordinary judgment, not only in terms of the historical amalgam, but in the refusal to discriminate relative rights and wrongs in the sides involved! Behind it lies a not-quite pacifism, and a not-quite anarchism, which add up finally to a rejection of what is ordinarily meant by politics: a horror of force as such, and a conviction, stated expressly elsewhere, that *all* governments create unhappiness "deliberately." But Mr. Woolf does not seem willing to condemn war as such, contenting himself with opposing capital punishment, which he belabors excessively as a betrayal of Christ and a step backward from the decision of Athene at the end of the Eumenides. He chooses finally the "weakness" of the Western Powers against the full-fledged totalitarian ones, but only abstractly, not in Korea. I do not mean that he is equivocal or half-hearted, but that he has apparently cut himself off from a political expression of his allegiance.

His book ends with a qualified hope for civilization, based on a rather unconvincing exposition of how the needs of modern organization will cause the authoritarian states to educate their citizens to the point of discontent. What stays with the reader, however, is neither the political prognosis nor the failure to solve the problem of power, but the assertion that there is a universally recognizable goodness, a sense in the ordinary man of where his true happiness lies which cannot be utterly quenched with propaganda or torture. If one feels finally that Mr. Woolf is wrong, it is only with the regret that one cannot be right with so much decency and humanity. And to his beliefs no one can condescend.

ROOTS OF EVIL

THIS SLENDER VOLUME contains more significant matter than many a fat and stately tome weighing three times as much and selling for twice the price. It is not a comfortable and comforting book; on the contrary, it is definitely horrifying, not because it is a new Fox's *Book of Martyrs* loaded with gory details, but because it convicts you and me and Adlai Stevenson of harboring som of the impulses that have made Senato McCarthy act as he does. If we hav suppressed them, the more credit to us but Dr. Davies will not allow that w have eliminated them.

In a series of four interlocking essay he analyzes the urge to persecute an establishes his thesis that it is a universa trait; then in a fifth he recommend treatment. Dr. Davies is a clergyman committed to the religious point of view but he obtrudes no dogma upon th reader. His diagnosis of this affliction i impeccable, and his therapy is certainl reasonable, even if one entertains som doubt as to its adequacy.

The great value of this study is it demonstration that the persecution mania is, in fact, an affliction. It is also an annoyance to the relatively healthy part of the population who naturally tend to forget that its basis is pathological although it may end in criminality. Witch-hunting is as definitely a perversion of normal thought-processes as carcinoma is an over-development of healthy cells.

Dr. Davies is convinced that we shall never deal with this thing rationally until we understand its nature; and he is equally convinced that under the heats and stresses of recent events we tend to forget what it is. Candid men, I think, will admit that he is right on both points; it is difficult to regard the assailants of common decency with no warmer emotion than scientific curiosity, yet that approach is necessary to complete understanding.

But when he finds the roots of the urge to persecute in such things as frustration, impatience, the sense of mediocrity and the herd-instinct he becomes disturbing, for these are in us all. A firm grip on reality serves to keep them in control precisely as a well-balanced body chemistry keeps the physical organism in order; and a relatively slight disturbance of the balance may result in malignancy. Dr. Davies is fortified, since for him the unbreakable grip on reality is faith in God, but that is a sanctuary not attainable by everyone.

The admirable English style in which the book is written makes it easy reading which is, perhaps, not altogether an advantage. It masks the skill of the analysis, especially in such passages as "The Flight From Freedom" and "The Cult of Mediocrity," which are illuminating psychological studies but which a careless reader may mistake for nothing more than entertaining essays.

THE URGE TO PERSECUTE, by A. Powell Davies (Beacon; $2.75).

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Long ago H. L. Mencken denied that ove of freedom is characteristic of the verage American and asserted that his uling passion is love of safety. Dr. Davies takes much the same position, but vhere Mencken spoke with the voice of tentor, Davies speaks with the voice of t. Paul, chiding the Athenians for being oo superstitious. Cowardice he admits s one motive for our dislike of freedom nd love of the mediocre, but he finds more important one in the gregarious nstinct. The free man and the great nan are lonely men, and most of us dislike and distrust solitude.

Within reason, this is a valuable trait, he basis of organized society. But exaggerated beyond reason, as it is sure to be n stressful times, it becomes malignant. t betrays us into assuming that whatever ets a man apart from his fellows is omehow evil, thus transforming fellowhip, the foundation of civilization into he urge to persecute.

This is bitter doctrine, too strong for veak stomachs, but the truth in it can ardly be denied by any observant man. t is only an application to the existing ituation of a truth that philosophy has dmitted for centuries—the truth that nost monstrous vices are often nothing else than virtues carried to an extreme beyond the bounds of reason. It is by no means a reassuring thought.

On the other hand, this careful exploration of the nature of this thing has its reassuring aspects. It explains to lovers of freedom why their wrath has been relatively ineffectual; rage will not cure a cancer. Surgery can help, but radiation is the best reliance; the problem is to admit the light into minds that have been darkened. The cheerful aspect of the book it is assertion that the evil has been spreading not because it is incurable, but because our efforts to deal with it have been badly aimed. If that is true the case is far from hopeless, for we can always adopt new methods.

It is good to realize that the urge to persecute is an abnormality. It is not so good to realize that it is an abnormality to which we are all subject, since the illiberality of the liberal is as malignant as that of the reactionary; but it is needful to know it. In small compass Dr. Davies has supplied a treatise that every liberal should keep by him, partly as armament against reaction but partly as an immunizing agent against his own reactionary tendencies.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

JAPANESE TRADITION

THIS is a fine book—a key book to the understanding of Japan and her art down the centuries. The story is told with a depth of understanding, combined with first hand knowledge, rare amongst Western writers, in a style of English prose as honest and vital as brown earth. Langdon Warner takes his just place by it in the succession, Okakura, Findlosa, Binyon, Yanaji—of interpreters of ima-

THE ENDURING ART OF JAPAN, by Langdon Warner (Harvard; $6.50).

gination between the East and the West in the field of art.

It is to be noted that he worked both with Okakura and Yanaji and that no foreigner today is more loved and respected by the Japanese people. There is a quality of modesty in his approach to his subject which may help to account for that fact but it should not be allowed to give anyone the impression that the author looses balance, critical faculty or sense of humor in his appreciation of Japan. As an Englishman, I feel he remains a good American throughout seeking to bring back to his homeland whatsoever of truth and beauty he has discovered in his long journeyings in China and Korea as well as in Japan. If these discoveries were present to us Westerns a very different picture of belief, work and artistry than we ourselves present in the twentieth century, I would not be the one to complain believing as I do that the difference is complimentary and not antithetic. Nothing has struck me more forcibly in two recent journeys throughout the States than the interplay of the finer values of the orient in the gradual moulding of an American style, or tradition, of architecture. Langdon Warner believes that America has the task before her of drawing such inspiration orbitally, in a manner corresponding to the composition of her population.

The book is most open to criticism in its illustrations, not so much by their choice as by the quality of printing and the small and overcrowded arrangement of the photographs.

I enjoyed the vivid picture of life in and around Nara in the eighth century when Buddhism and continental culture first took root under the benign and wise Shotoku Taishi. That gives the reader a springboard for what comes later. The author's own life in the same locality causes him to write:

Over and over again the validity of living within the Nara period, and a century back of it, was brought home to me without shock or surprise. Once I had the luck to unlock from a muniment chest a fragment of a gilt bronze crown and unhesitatingly walk across and fit it on the brow of a statue where it had belonged. The jagged edges met with precision, and nail sank into nail hole, corresponding to a nicety.

The development by the tenth century of a perfectly distinct expression is made clear and underlined by the chapter which he aptly calls, "The Great Decorators," — Koyetsu, Sotatsu, Korin and Kenzan. This should scotch that reiterated aspersion that the Japanese are mere imitators—if anything can.

What I liked best, perhaps, was what Dr. Warner had to say about the quality of impersonal community work springing from a wholeness of living from which a couple of centuries of industrialism have almost entirely alienated us. The importance of craftsmanship with its roots in agriculture but held together and inspired by oral traditions imbedded in simple animist Shinto beliefs—the very ethos of the Japanese people before it became twisted to political purposes. He says:

It will be seen then that Shinto, seldom the patron of the arts, was from the beginning both nurse and preserver. It is neither sentimental nostalgia nor ignorant worship of the good old days which makes us see a large measure of human good in this society where the material culture was fostered by so natural a system of craftsmen-priests. Compared with the output of an industrialized society, it is certain that fewer conveniences were produced but equally demonstrable that one necessity we lack today was then available. The necessity we lack is, of course, the prime requirement that a man's trade should permit and train him to grow into a complete man.

As one follows Langdon Warner taking the swinging evolution of Japanese art down the Tokugawas, it is born in upon one that the story of absorption from China, India and Korea and digestion in Japan is an old one set in the background of the still unfamiliar farthest East.

He concludes his book with penetrating essays on tea, gardens and Zen.

These notes have been written in the mountains of Central Japan with Soyetsu Yanjo beside me and he authorizes me to say that they have his approval.

BERNARD LEACH

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DOCUMENTED MARRIAGE

THOUGH MARCEL JOUHANDEAU has published over forty books since 1920, and been praised by such varied tastes as Gide, Sartre, Thornton Wilder, and Havelock Ellis, his reputation, even in France, remains small and unjustly *recherché*. This does not mean that he is a "coterie" writer, for the same thing was true of Henry Green and Faulkner in this country ten years ago. It simply means that like them, Jouhandeau must wait for his larger reckoning. His readers have yet to discover that he exists.

MARCEL AND ELISE, by Marcel Jouhandeau, translated by Martin Turnell (Pantheon; $3.50).

Hence it is especially satisfying to find Pantheon Books taking such exemplary pains to introduce him here in America. The book-making is handsome; the translation sensitive; and the text itself an authorized selection by Kurt Wolff from eight of Jouhandeau's quasi-autobiographical novels — the so-called "Elise" books—which together make up the most moving celebration of an intricately human marriage that I know of in any literature.

At the center of this marriage is Elise, the wife. A retired dancer, she is above all *sure*; implacably, invulnerably sure, of everything. Her self is indivisibly intact. Between her intention and her reality no shadow has ever fallen. "She speaks of *my* God, *my* parish, *my* chapel, *my* room, *my* husband" with the purest assumption.

Watching this Elise, loving her, at once enchanted and shattered by her ease, is the husband-narrator, Marcel. A writer by vocation, he is passive, reflective, middle-aged, religious, passionate, bisexual. Like James' Flaubert, he is "a deeply corrupt, yet not corrupting man." His deadliest sin is self-delusion, his surest salvation a true record. Though less cerebral, his self-consciousness is every bit as remorseless as M. Teste's. Yet unlike Teste, he watches not only himself, but Elise, whom he loves and can never really join. His peculiar heroism lies in his honesty, which persists almost to a point of self-idolatry, yet always remains this side, harshly functional to the discovery of what his joy, anguish, and temptations truly are.

Readers unfamiliar with Jouhandeau's very elliptical narrative technique may be put off at first. Particular events are rarely described. The dialogue is unnaturalistic. Dramatic action is slight. The air of a diary prevails, and one has the sense of a novel in which the traditional "novelizing" has been removed. Alan Pryce-Jones once compared Jouhandeau's to Henry Green's, yet the latter's art is dramatic, objective, and symbolic, while Jouhandeau's is exactly the opposite: discursive, analytic, subjective. It postulates a new genre, a more lyrical, speculating narrative of inscape, somewhere between the autobiography and the pensée. "If only," wrote Emerson, "a man knew how to choose what is really his experience and how to record truth truly." Jouhandeau, more than any other living writer excepting James Agee, is such a man, and his influence upon writers of the future should be large. If for this reason only —because somewhere in America a young writer may be emboldened and fertilized by his example to do as much for his own unique truth—Pantheon Books should be publicly thanked for what they have done. ROBERT PHELPS

PRIZE STORIES

Prize Stories of 1954, the annual O. Henry Awards, is an encouraging production. Despite the dire prophecies that are always being bruited around about the "future of American writing," this collection proves what common sense would always tell, namely that a certain amount of the population will always feel that strange, wonderful, egotistical desire to express themselves in serious fiction and that they will do so, come hell or Henry Luce. Likewise the widespread deploring of the tendency of modern writers to acquire an institutional academic connection seems to be a false bugaboo as well. Most of the twenty-three young writers exhibited here have or have had an academic position of some kind. In fact both the editors and six of the contributors, including the first-prize winner, are or have been at the Writers' Workshop at the University of Iowa. This may well cause some raising of sectional eyebrows, but the editors take up the problem candidly enough in their introduction by saying there *is* a lot of good writing coming out of Iowa which is indubitable. In any event and without getting enthusiastic about the numerous creative writing courses that clutter up many college curricula, this conjunction of writer and academy would seem to prove that people who have something to say will say it, whether in a Greenwich Village apartment or in a college boarding-house, Mary McCarthy notwithstanding.

PRIZE STORIES OF 1954, edited by Paul Engle and Hansford Martin (Doubleday; $3.95).

For these young writers are talented and serious, without being pretentious I would have cast my vote for first-prize for Clay Putnam's "The News From Troy," a powerful evocation of the effect of the death of a son upon his family, but the editors awarded him second-place anyway. And the winner, Thomas Mabry's "The Indian Feather," is a very respectable story in its own right. There are of course some light-weight affairs in the collection, but the general tone is high.

It is interesting to see where the talent comes from. The biographical information on every author is not complete, but it would seem that the mid-west (Iowa may have something to do with this) and the east, in that order, produce most of it, followed by the south. The west has exactly one representative, that is, a native born, in Jean Stafford.

But even more interesting is the subject-matter and technique of the stories themselves. There is some reflection of contemporary events—a slight satire on the Communists in a U.N. setting, a soldier in Korea, and an officer in Europe—but, by and large, politics, atom bombs, and world issues do not enter in. In fact, eleven of the twenty-three stories, including the three prize-winners, deal with children or adolescents. And it would seem therefore that one branch of American literature is still sailing down the Mississippi with Huck Finn.

For it cannot be merely coincidental that the three prize-winners all deal with adolescent boys undergoing powerful adult experiences. The first story is frankly initiatory—a boy meets evil and mature responsibility; in the second a boy meets death. In short, Hemingway's famous prophecy that all modern

Notes on the Critics

LESLIE A. FIEDLER, a Fellow of the School of Letters of Indiana University, teaches at the University of Montana. BERNARD LEACH, author of *A Potter's Portfolio*, is living in Japan. ROBERT PHELPS is a critic of modern literature.

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merican writing stems from Mark Twain still holds. And the best stories n this volume seem to look back hrough *In Our Time* to that great archeype for the one whole side of American ulture, *Huckleberry Finn* (in Mabry's tory there is actually a journey, filled vith beauty and terror, down a river by boy and a man). The prose of most f the stories likewise has bypassed the vhole modern experiment with its linguistic acrobatics and seems to strive for, lthough it is heavier, Twain's and Hemingway's style—a clear, straightforvard, colloquial prose, highly charged vith emotion.

This ancestral harkening back to Mark Twain, quite unconscious no doubt, is not of course a complete explanation of hese writers' preoccupation with childhood and adolescence, but it is a part of he explanation that is usually lost sight of in the frequent criticism that is made of younger writers for not dealing with social issues and world events, and it is a reminder that *Huckleberry Finn* is no contemptible literary ancestor.

Beyond that, to come down to contemporary conditions and in despite of the new literary nationalism which seems to be saying that life *can* be beautiful, it is still true that world and domestic events are so paradoxical and the world of adulthood so ambiguous and often preposterous that an author is only showing a kind of instinctive wisdom when he turns to the unequivocal situations and emotions of the young for an intelligible metaphor for the human condition. There is a time for everything and this seems to be a time for honesty, wherever it can be found.

JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

QUO VADIS, IGOR?

ONE of Stravinsky's most attractive works in recent years is his Septet, for piano, winds and strings, recently premiered in Washington at Dumbarton Oaks and repeated in New York at the Theatre de Lys. Stravinsky himself conducted the first performance, and it was a very gala occasion indeed.

The music itself will give many of Stravinsky's admirers a bad turn. It does very few of the things that a Stravinsky piece is supposed to do, and a great many things that, according to some, no piece should ever do. All three movements of the work are as unadventurous, rhythmically, as Hindemith, and the texture of the work is one of contrapuntal noodling, again suggestive of Hindemith.

The only hint of classicism is in the first movement, and even there, the superficial classicism of the Sonata Allegro pattern is overwhelmed by music which is technically and conceptually Baroque. The second movement is a Passacaglia, and a singularly straightforward one. Formally, it is much more transparent than the Passacaglia in Hindemith's *Harmonie der Welt*. The work ends with a cheerful Gigue, made up of four tidy little fugues. The Gigue is based on a row of eight notes, repeated and varied by the contrapuntal devices so characteristic of twelve-tone writing. Since only eight notes are used, and since the rhythms are drawn directly from eighteenth century practice, the effect is most un-Schoenbergian.

Robert Craft, the program-annotator, who is in an excellent position to act as Stravinsky's spokesman, leads us to believe that, in this movement, Stravinsky has virtually broken a new sound barrier, and that, with his crab-canons and whatnot, he has added to his music the element of a counterpoint free of the restrictions of a functioning bass progression and the resultant harmonic organization; all this, according to Mr. Craft, is a perfectly splendid idea.

If Stravinsky has taken to counterpoint in his old age, and means to develop a style in which the dramatic substance of his music will be hidden under a neat, Baroque surface, we can only wish him joy. But if he seriously thinks that his basically diatonic thinking can be made to stop serving tonal functions simply by the employment of contrapuntal devices and non-repeating note rows, we can suggest a few more potentially successful means of going about it.

Aside from a few really serious works —The Symphony of Psalms and the Mass come to mind—Stravinsky has devoted most of his maturity to the production of light music—elegant, imaginative, sustained, but still light. The claims made for the Septet have all the ear marks of being a spoof, a discreet and highly amusing tug at the leg of a generation which takes its sense of radical destiny far too seriously. If Stravinsky himself is taken in, then the joke isn't so good. But the music itself sounds good, rounder, richer, and much more challenging than the classical Stravinsky.

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From Our Readers

► As Britain Sees Us

Over the last month or two there seems to have been a significant change in the tone of the news coming from America, as one reads it in London. First and foremost, of course, it is noticed through the growing interest of Americans in the shape of the recession into which they have plunged or are about to plunge. It was further noticed by sharp-eyed Europeans that both Mr. Dean, when on holiday from Panmunjom, and Vice-President Nixon, back from his Asian jaunt, seemed to hint at a less rigid US policy in Asia, while simultaneously some highly respectable US business voices have been overheard advocating more East-West trade, even in the case of Communist China, even in the case of the United States. A change of tone, of emphasis, perhaps not more: but as one knowledgeable British commentator put it, their new mood of the past few *weeks* should make it easier for Americans to understand the British mood of the past few *years*.

Failure to recognize this mood has often contributed to misunderstanding. Take that sore point of difference, British recognition of Communist China. One can argue about its benefits, but few Americans seem to realize that this was no major British policy decision but a rather technical step taken by the Foreign Office at a time when British public opinion was remarkably unstirred by the whole question. Even now, three out of four readers of the British press might be unaware that they had diplomatic relations with Mr. Mao. Or take the violence of American reactions to Mr. Attlee's speech in Parliament criticizing those aspects of the American Constitution which made for instability of US foreign policy. As seen from London, this reaction, ranging from Senator McCarthy's elegant reference to Mr. Attlee's squalid career to the baffled handshakes of friendly Americans, was bewildering. After all, Mr. Attlee had not done much more than think aloud, and in any case he is not regarded here as a thinker whose *obiter dicta* on constitutional questions need be taken so desperately seriously.

The incident was illustrative of the deep difference in political outlook rather than policy between London and Washington which until very recently, seemed to be growing. It was true, for instance, that in general and in Korea in particular the British were ready to go along with the Americans in a crusade to contain Communism. British troops *were* sent to Korea, if in smaller numbers, and fought there with distinction. An embargo on strategic trade with the East was put on. But it is equally true—and this is a significant difference—that such action was undertaken without much apparent enthusiasm. In spite of much energetic propaganda by British governments, the Korean War never appeared to the British man-in-the-street as *his* war, while such bodies as the NATO or the EDC have remained largely nebulous to him. The reasons for such relative apathy on the part of a highly political nation are of course complex and various. In part they derive from awareness of the shift in power after 1939-45, in part from a certain parochialism in British politics following on the withdrawal from India, from Burma or from Palestine. But they also derive from what has become a dominant British concern of the day—that of making ends meet, not only in terms of individual family budgets but of the budget of the new, insecure British nation.

It is sometimes interesting to see how far this change from yesterday's economics of imperial opulence to today's sober economics of making ends meet has already proceeded. One could gather it, for instance, in a single recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian* (Jan. 13), taken almost at random but which in its 12 pages featured no less than six stories on the fate of Britain's economic struggle.

There were, first, the figures of the Visible Trade Gap. As it happened, this bogey by now familiar to the informed reader, had shrunk in 1953. According to the report, British exports in 1953 had at £2,582 million kept level with 1952, in spite of a fall in prices. The fall, however, had lowered the import total: hence the ever-ominous Visible Trade Gap was down by 12 percent. Yet in the closing months of the year, exports had shown some sagging, competition was increasing: comfort was only relative.

Only moderate comfort, too, came from the next item, about coal: for some time the British press has put out the weekly output figures of Britain's nationalized coal industry as though they were barometer readings. This time, sober news. Over the whole of 1953, slightly increased output per manshift—another term become rapidly familiar—had not quite made up for output lost through the Coronation stoppage and extra holidays with pay. On the other hand British steel, in process of being denationalized, was doing well. Output in 1953 at 17.6 million had been ahead of estimates and for 1954 record figures were confidently expected. But if the steel prospects looked promising, those for shipping looked less so. A report from Glasgow on the building of three fine new Cunarders stressed the intensification of the "Battle of the Atlantic," the steadily growing competition from German, Dutch and Scandinavian shipyards—and the old age o British shipyards.

But perhaps there were only new openings for the precarious British economy such as East-West trade? A front-pag article (item five) discussed the comin trip to Moscow of 30 British businessmen representing major industries and indus trial concerns, for evidently large-scal trade talks in non-strategic goods. Th Russians had recently sold large amount of gold to acquire scarce sterling. Whil nothing startling should be expected, sai the article, it seemed likely "that the busi nessmen would come back with usefu orders."

Finally, perhaps the most significan item. An article neatly headed "Polic Wonderful But Hotels Do Not Serv Water" outlined a report on the touris season by Sir Alexander Maxwell wh is the energetic chairman of the Britis Travel and Holidays Association. Du partly to the Coronation, Britain had i 1953 quietly crept to first place in Euro pean tourism, earning more, wonder o wonders, than France or Switzerland Could this be kept up—with British cook ing and facilities? Sir Alexander publicly distributed commendation and censure Foreign visitors he said, had as usua praised British scenery, politeness, police men, buses, etc.; and had complained about the headlined refusal of restaura teurs to serve water, cold bedrooms, in stances of inadequate hygiene, illogical, licensing hours, etc., and finally, as Sir Alexander concluded and the *Manchester Guardian* reported, "Probably the outstanding complaint is over the quality and texture of toilet paper."

Odd? But all in all, illustrative of the Great Change. Only yesterday the British upper-classes could still treat parts of the Continent as their holiday enclaves, laughing at the hygienic habits of the natives, while visitors to the British Isles were rare. Today it is the British who are constantly told of the value of their tourist industry in bridging the trade gap, while British hotels are exhorted in public to serve water and provide better toilet paper. . . . Signs of the times. The direct British response to these constant exhortations—to work harder, to export more, to produce more coal, more steel, more ships, better tourist facilities—is often hard to discern; but their indirect effect on the national outlook has probably been quite marked, and probably represents one very good reason why the British may have seemed grudging about the Korean War, unenthusiastic about the United Nations, and almost indifferent to the activities of Harry Dexter White and other ideological issues which have so preoccupied Americans. The latter have done so, however, in a phase

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of fabulous economic advance unprecedented even by American standards. Now that in the United States, too, a new mood of economic pulse-taking has for the moment set in, will it prove easier to bring American and British policy into line? In a way, yes, is probably the answer.

London, England T. R. FYVEL

Mr. Fyvel is an experienced British journalist who has traveled extensively in the United States.

Bandwagon

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, a baseball fan, told the Minneapolis sportswriters: "The only way the New York Yankees can fail to win another penant is if they appoint Ezra Taft Benson in charge of their farm system." – *Boston Herald, January 14, 1954.*

"A tremendous gallonage of bilge water will pour from Congressional spigots in the months ahead. The public will be hard-pressed to keep its eye on the political ball, much less to separate oratory from facts.

In the face of prospects that every football in Capitol corridors between now and next July will be fashioned to get the most mileage from the vote, it might be well to weigh the problems." – *Tulsa Daily World, January 12, 1954.*

The significance of President Eisenhower's speech to his constituents lay in what he did not say. He sounded no alarms, cried no crusades, proposed no cure-all.

In some ways it was the best speech he ever made. It confirmed the rightness of the people's choice. It assured them that they had got what they voted for. It was time to find a man to restore order. President Eisenhower turned out to be such a man. He has been in office for a year without a spectacular achievement. – *Los Angeles Times, January 6, 1954.*

Mrs. Arla Reeder, chairman of the Board of Review and a member since it was created by city ordinance in 1932, said it was her recollection that "very few" pictures had been banned in 22 years.

"The one I remember in particular wasn't actually banned," she pointed out. "We just told the theater manager he couldn't show it." – *Daily News, Los Angeles, January 19, 1954.*

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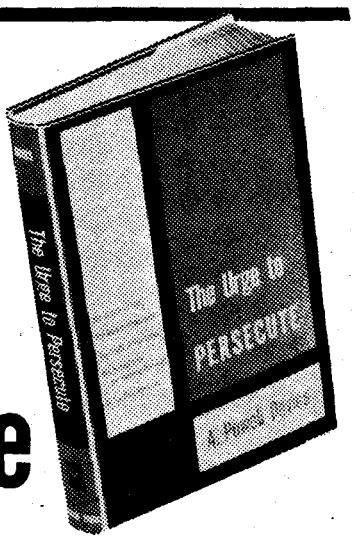

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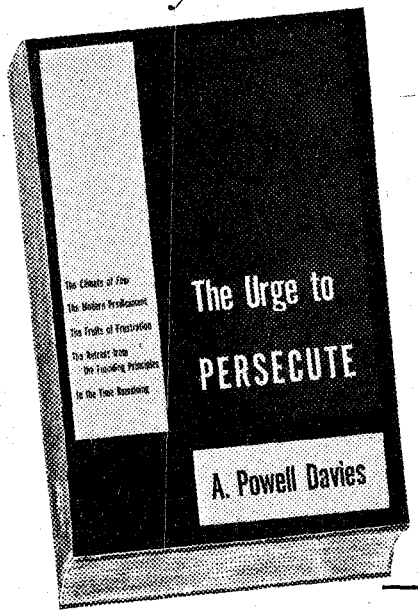

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